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tion mentioned above estimated the occupation costs at 12 per cent of the national income of Hungary, making with reparations a total of 30 per cent. Now that the Russian Army has been very much reduced and production has passed the pre-war level, the importance of reparations, acquisitions, etc., in the national income has very much declined. According to T. Mende, who was not unsympathetic to the post-war regime in Hungary, they amounted to 7-11 per cent of the national income (*Fortnightly Review*, July, 1948). When Ernö Gerö, the Minister of Finance, introduced the budget for 1949 in the Hungarian parliament on December 15th, 1948, he said that in 1948, 25.4 per cent of the total expenditure went to pay the reparations, while in 1949, 9.8 per cent of the budget would be allocated for this purpose. This reduction is due largely to the fact that Russia cancelled 50 per cent of the remainder of the reparations from July, 1948.

The value of dismantled machinery, locomotives, wagons, etc., taken by the Russian army in Hungary was estimated at 124 million dollars, and the requisitions of the Russian army that lived on the country were very great. According to the American note of 23rd July, 1946, the Soviet forces had up to June, 1945, taken out of Hungary four million tons of wheat, rye, barley, maize and oats (the total pre-war annual production of these grains was a little over 7 million tons). Of the foodstuffs available for the urban population in the second half of 1945 the Soviet army had appropriated nearly all the meat, one-sixth of the wheat and rye, one-quarter of the legumes, nearly three-quarters of the lard, a tenth of the vegetable oils and a fifth of the milk and dairy products. The note added that extensive requisitioning of food was going on as late as April, 1946. And we must not forget that at the same time the food shortage in Hungary was so serious that not more than 850 calories a day per person were provided, which was even fewer than in Germany and Austria. The death rate, especially among babies, reached alarming proportions.

Even countries which were not allies of Germany during the war did not escape the Russian appetite for loot. 60 big industrial enterprises in the Sudeten region and a number of enterprises in other parts of Czechoslovakia were dismantled by the Russian army. In the part of Germany annexed to

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member of the Government, it was learned today. Rumania could not afford to lose the services of merchants and industrialists, M. Pătrăscanu said. He expressed the opinion that the country would pursue a more liberal policy toward this class than the French have.' What an outcry there would have been in the Communist press if a similar announcement had been made by a non-Communist Minister in the West!

Tătărescu did not hesitate to attack 'anarchists' (i.e., workers). In an interview with *The New York Times* correspondent in Bucharest on 21st October, 1945, he declared that a strenuous discipline must be introduced in industry and an end brought to the 'excesses' of the workers' committees.

It was hardly surprising that the capitalists faced the future with perhaps a little anxiety even if they were satisfied with the existing state of affairs. There was great optimism among businessmen, as the serious Swiss paper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* pointed out (10th February, 1947) giving this illustration: 'As the Bucharest economic journal *Finantze si Industrie* reports, in the last year (1946—Y.G.) in Rumania there were established 355 new stock companies with a total capital of 20.3 milliard Lei.'

For years business continued to be good and speculation in the free market active, although the conditions of the working people were appalling and, after the drought of 1946-7, starvation stared them in the face. Some idea of the conditions of the people at this time can be got from '*A Survey of the Health of the People in Several European Countries affected by the War* published on November 19th, 1948, by *La Documentation Francaise* and consisting of reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross which describes the dreadful tragedy which overtook Rumania, the country most affected by the drought: 'It is difficult to convey the misery of the Rumanian population in 1947: famine prevailed in whole sections of the country, in some regions people were eating grass and the bark of trees and even clay. It is estimated that 6,000,000 persons were dependent on the government in 1947-48. Here are some of the consequences of the famine and misery which prevailed in this country: 1. The complete disappearance of little children in some districts . . . infant mortality actually reached a rate of 80% . . . 2. An increase of

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all kinds of diseases and a steep rise of the mortality rate; corpses were thrown into sewers adjacent to the houses. 3. Universal poverty conducive to the spread of venereal diseases . . . one out of twelve persons is syphilitic according to recent reports furnished by the Minister of Health . . .'

All this time the fortunes of the capitalists were not touched as they were working for reparations for Russia. They and the new state bureaucracy flourished, while the lion's share of the surplus value produced in Rumania was taken, of course, by the Kremlin.*

The bureaucratic and militarist character of the Rumanian state was not altered and many of the former officials remained in office. Of the legal system, Pătrăşcaru could say: 'The procedures, methods, traditions and structure of Rumanian jurisprudence have remained unchanged since a Communist became Minister of Justice. No more than 20 new judges out of 2,000 have been appointed. About a quarter of the old staff have been purged or pensioned'. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 12th December, 1945). This policy is symbolised by the fact that 'Just two weeks before the start of the trial of Iuliu Maniu . . . a discreet announcement was published in Bucharest newspapers recording the appointment of a new chief of the military tribunal of the second army corps district (the one to preside over Maniu's trial—Y.G.) . . . the wartime director general of all prisons and concentration camps in Rumania'. (*New York Herald Tribune*, 7th November, 1947).

The structure of the army remained hierarchical, with the complete subordination of the soldiers to their officers, and with no soldiers' committees. For three years even the composition of its personnel showed a marked continuity with the past. For instance, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolae Cambrea, commander of the Rumanian units fighting against Russia at Stalingrad, was promoted by the Groza government to the rank of General, and appointed Assistant Chief of Staff. Major Popescu-Argetoia, an active Fascist in the past, was put at the head of the secret police. General Vasiliu Rascanu, Chief of Military Police during the war against Russia, was appointed Minister of War. Another old general, Pretorian, was appointed Chief of Staff at the same time. General Lascar,

*See above pp.

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241 The peasants do not like regimentation and therefore the
185 Communist economic plans have not brought about any increase in agricultural production.

208 The collectivization policy has further aggravated the situation. The peasants hate even the word "collective." They go about their work with indifference or with fear and hatred. Their aversion to coercion, dictatorship, and controls, their attachment to their land, and their pride in independence, have neutralized all the advantages of large-scale production with its mechanization and its use of modern agricultural methods. The Communist belief that large-scale operation would bring about efficient agricultural production has not materialized.

● 262 Agricultural production is decreasing. Eastern Europe
433 used to be a very large exporter of all agricultural products,
241 but it is suffering from shortages today. Food is scarce in these agricultural countries. Before the Second World War, nine out of ten residents of Czechoslovakia were nourished by the produce of Czechoslovakian agriculture. There were no rations. Everybody could buy what he wanted, and the standard of living in Czechoslovakia was the highest in Eastern Europe. Today, according to official Communist pronouncements, every second man in Czechoslovakia, despite strict rationing, has to be supplied from abroad. Milk, butter, and eggs are not distributed to adults at all, and even sugar is in short supply. Czechoslovakia, once the largest exporter of beet sugar in Europe, today cannot provide its diminished population with sugar although it has nearly 15 per cent fewer inhabitants than before 1938 due to the expulsion of the Germans. Bulgaria and Hungary, which had great surpluses of all agricultural products before the last war, must now import foodstuffs for their starving populations. Agricultural production in Eastern Europe has not yet attained the prewar level, although the free farms of Western Europe have surpassed it considerably.

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commodities, such as kitchen equipment and furniture, are rare and expensive, above the means of an average family, and modern house appliances are hardly known at all. A private car is an extreme rarity and will remain so within the foreseeable future since few passenger cars are being manufactured and almost none imported.

As far as food is concerned, there is much truth in the Communist assertion that with the rapid increase of city populations the production of foodstuffs lags behind the growing demand. Figures for food production in this area do not indicate the amount of consumption, since much of the food produced is stocked as army and war reserve or exported to Russia and China. The true situation is that while there is no actual hunger most of the population is fed at standards far below those of Western Europe. The diet is monotonous, consisting largely of bread, noodles, cereals, potatoes, common vegetables, and puddings, to judge from advice given to housewives by women's publications. Protective foods are fewer than before the war though probably more evenly distributed. Before the war, in the poorer parts of the area, the urban unemployed and millions of so-called dwarf-sized farm holders were as a rule underfed. Today the unemployed have disappeared, but the inmates of the labor camps are starving, and the poor peasants are no better off than before. The families living on middle-sized farms consume more food than before the war, because an incentive for selling produce is lacking.

The caloric value of foodstuffs consumed by the working population in the cities has, if anything, decreased. At home, families eat what the British used to eat a few years ago, but they have less of it. The quality of food consumed in the public eating places maintained by factories and the like is described as extremely bad, and so is the service. Standing in food lines, often in vain, consumes a large part of the housewife's time. This, added to the difficulty of cooking be-

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cause of the fuel shortage, makes a bitter joke of the Communist pledge to liberate the housewife from drudgery. There are a few brighter spots in this picture. The soldiers and policemen are well fed and so are the privileged classes of senior government and party workers, and of artists and writers. The numerical strength of these new, privileged strata of society is less than that of the pre-war middle class, and their standard of living is undoubtedly lower.

Data have been published lately that illustrate the low level of consumption of food behind the Iron Curtain. These data concern the increase of sales of certain staples in Czechoslovakia in 1952 over those in 1951, and, for once, they are disclosed not in meaningless percentages, as is the rule behind the Iron Curtain, but in absolute figures. An analysis of these figures shows the increase in sales of sugar and butter to the extent, respectively, of two ounces and less than half an ounce per capita per month. The alleged increase in sales of coffee actually lags behind the increase in the population. Only the amount of tea sold has really increased. However, the Czechoslovakians are not tea but coffee drinkers. They used to produce more sugar than they could consume before the war. Yet the text in question continues: "The above figures show that the standard of living of the Czechoslovak people is irresistibly on the upward trend." Another example is a long letter from a coal miner in Poland, whose only subject was a detailed description of how he tried in vain for weeks in the fall of 1952 to buy a piece of sausage. In his fury with the regime and "the Russkis" behind it, the humble writer rose to the rhetoric of a Patrick Henry and declared that since there was no sausage life was not worth living. "And to think that I actually used to grumble against the pre-war government!" was his final confession. It should be noted that pre-war Poland had a large surplus of pork.

In the summer of 1953, the Soviet government announced that it would take many measures to relieve the all too ob-